

terra nullius or recognize and rectify the failure to properly extinguish native title. The United States Government did just this in the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act, paying off native claimants to extinguish native tenure. The only other alternative is unthinkable to the legal mind: abandonment of the rule of law and admission that title in Australia is based on brute force and bigotry. To thus reveal land law as a tool of selfish power rather than a product of logic would plant dangerous seeds of discontent.

What Reynolds ultimately provides in this and his previous work is the bargaining card of knowledge. It becomes harder to support present-day title with the old myths, the more their untruth is documented with historical sources.

The Law of the Land is a logical extension of Reynolds' earlier ethnographic work. This time he has written an ethnography of the white European.

Using the words, the remembrances, and the worldview of the European, he shows deep conflict pitting the path of land acquisition in Australia and he generates a nagging push to fit this revelation within a legal logic. The result may well be, at long last, Aboriginal land rights. The difference between Aboriginal and European ethnography is that the Europeans left a paper trail. Bureaucrats in London wrote agonized memos questioning colonial title. Colonists wrote stubborn diary entries defying the law and decrying the imperial bleeding hearts. Reynolds uses this paper trail to exacerbate the crisis of legitimacy, a crisis he hopes will be resolved with recognition of Aboriginal land rights. He takes the chance that the keepers of the law do indeed trea-

sure the power of its logic and will not want to cut the same bargain as the colonizers who chose land above legitimacy. He closes with a quote from Gough Whitlam that serves well to prod the conscience of all descendants of colonizers in the Pacific: "Australia's treatment of her Aboriginal people will be the thing upon which the rest of the world will judge Australia and Australians—not just now, but in the greater perspective of history" (178).

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*Note: Opening quotation is by Eric Kerr, Aboriginal ex-convict, quoted in K. Gilbert, *Living Black*, Penguin Books, 1977.

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Drugs in Western Pacific Societies: Relations of Substance, edited by Lamont Lindstrom. ASAO Monograph Series no. 11. Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 1987. xii + 299 pp, notes, references, index. US\$15.25.

If anthropology is to serve the needs of Pacific peoples rather than those of its Euro-American practitioners, Lindstrom's collection of ethnographic descriptions of drug use in the western Pacific is a good start. The essays in this volume make clear that a subject once treated as peripheral to ethnographic interests is not only important but indeed central to an understanding of culture change, modernization, and public health in the Pacific.

Lindstrom's introduction points the reader toward some of the many dimensions of the subject. How do both traditional and introduced drugs become part of an exchange system?

What is the social meaning of drug use for Pacific Islanders? What are a society's expectations for drugged behavior? How do societies react to issues of social control of drugs and alcohol?

The introduction is followed by a thorough and well-ordered review of the literature by Mac Marshall. The review notes the many limitations of the literature in this important field. Very little, for instance, has been written about contemporary kava use in the Pacific, and the history of the introduction of tobacco in the region is also very sketchy. Marshall has been a pioneer in the ethnography of drugs and alcohol in the Pacific and was certainly the best choice to begin this anthology.

Laurence Carucci's article, "*Kijen Emaan Ilo Baat: Methods and Meanings of Smoking in Marshallese Society*," is a well-written and interesting treatment of the role of cigarette smoking in Marshallese culture. While most Western societies take for granted that nicotine is an addictive drug, this essay shows how the Marshallese have come to quite different conclusions, seeing cigarettes as a form of male food with a great number of desirable properties. For instance, a cigarette can be "eaten" without weight gain. This chapter is one of the best in the book in terms of its usefulness to the Pacific. For example, if the Marshallese government were to initiate an antismoking campaign, Carucci's findings would have to be taken into account if the campaign were to have any chance of success. (Messages from the US Surgeon General would be unconvincing to the Marshallese.) After reading this article, it seems ironic to recall that many ethnographers have used cigarettes as a

form of fair exchange with their informants, probably without ever considering the meaning such exchanges might have for their "subjects."

Although a little heavy on anthropological jargon, Bruce Knauf's work entitled, "*Managing Sex and Anger: Tobacco and Kava Use Among the Gebusi of Papua New Guinea*," is another insightful look at two themes; sex and violence, as they are mediated among the Gebusi by two drugs, kava and tobacco.

"*Drunkenness and Gender on Tanna, Vanuatu*," by Lamont Lindstrom, emphasizes the gender boundaries set up to surround the use of kava in Vanuatu. "Drunkenness . . . links man to man at the same time it separates man from woman. Intoxication establishes a contextual interpersonal equality among men as it determines and maintains heterosexual relations of inequality" (99).

Pam Watson's article, "*Drugs in Trade*," expands the dimensions of inquiry to the broader issue of how drugs become part of a society's economic base and what this does to both the producing society and its customers in other countries or districts. Watson's report of fieldwork among the Biwat of Papua New Guinea is meticulous and reasonably explained. However, the theoretical model used to introduce the work is severely flawed, as exemplified by the statement that "Cocaine, for example, does not produce dependence but is more highly reinforcing than many psychoactive substances" (120). The point attempted was that cultural prohibitions mediate unfettered individual use—a point that few research-

ers would argue with—but it is unfortunate that the valid findings of Watson's fieldwork should be obscured by a faulty theoretical introduction.

Wari Iamo's contribution, "One of the Things That Brings Good Name is Betel: A Keakalo Conception of Betel Use," links the production theme of Watson's work to the prestige ideology of the Keakalo people. The use of production controls such as taboo markers and gender prohibitions similar to those described by Knauff for kava is discussed. Successful betel production among the Keakalo has become an avenue to prestige within the community.

Although it may be easy reading for the seasoned anthropologist, Fitz John Porter Poole's essay is as ponderous and dense as his title: "Ritual Rank, the Self, and Ancestral Power: Liturgy and Substance in a Papua New Guinea Society." His discussion of ginger and mushroom intoxication among the Bimin-Kuskusmin adds some drugs to round out the anthology but is probably of interest only to Papua New Guinea specialists or professors intent on torturing their graduate students with ethnographic jargon.

A return to easier reading and broader relevance is achieved in the two following contributions, William Wormsley's "Beer and Power in Enga" and Bruce Larson's short piece, "Marijuana in Truk." Both demonstrate how introduced drugs have been assimilated into local cultures—marijuana changing the socializing patterns of Trukese youth, and beer being taken into the political and economic power systems of Enga.

The summary essay of the volume has a clever title as well as an impor-

tant message: "When drugs pass between persons, they alter the currency of interaction . . . in short, they affect the nature of sociability" (234). Marilyn Strathern's "Relations Without Substance" reminds me of some of Sahlins' work—one has the first impression that it must be quite profound, but it takes several readings to confirm the suspicion. Her essay is a thoughtful and fitting end to an anthology that has been much needed and that opens for the uninitiated a topic that is of increasing importance to Pacific peoples.

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Kinship to Kingship: Gender Hierarchy and State Formation in the Tongan Islands, by Christine Ward Gailey. Texas Press Sourcebooks in Anthropology, no. 14. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987. xviii + 326 pp, figures, photographs, appendix, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. Cloth US\$28.50; paper US\$12.95.

Issues of gender and the transformation of gender roles have gained currency in recent discussions in Polynesian studies. Many Marxist anthropologists espouse the view that gender relations were primarily egalitarian in preclass societies and that current aspects of male dominance are the result of colonialism and class and state formation. While this genre of ethnohistorical argument can be very illuminating, it is often the case that the theoretical argument can obscure an accurate depiction of the society in